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ABSTRACT

This paper is presented with the hope that those studying or directly involved in the utilization of hard-core persons in employment may gain insights which may make their tasks easier and more productive. It is written in a readable and non-technical nature and integrates experiences of hard-core utilization with accepted organization theory. Efforts were made to keep the paper timely, relevant, and of such a nature as to lead to action. Major sections of the paper are devoted to: (1) Supervising the Hard-Core, (2) Group Structure, (3) Dealing with Internal Conflict, and (4) Organizational Climate. (Author/JS)

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EMPLOYING THE HARD-CORE:

Internal Organizational Effects

by
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Center for Human Resources
College of Business Administration
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Houston, Texas
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PREFACE

This paper is presented with the hope that those studying or directly involved in the utilization of hard-core persons in employment may gain insights which may make their tasks easier and more productive. It is written in a readable fashion of a non-technical nature. It integrates experiences of hard-core utilization with accepted organization theory. Every effort has been made in the preparation of this paper to keep it timely, relevant and of such a nature as to lead to action. Other publications of the Center for Human Resources supplement this one in the area of equal employment opportunity.

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"a foreman, a week after the induction of black, 'hard-core' in his department, commented with no little hostility: The company told us we were getting the bottom of the barrel. Hell, we expected wild-eyed militants, each of them with a sticker (knife) in their boots. They're just like everyone else. The company misled us"

(Rosen and Blonsky, 1970).

SUPERVISING THE HARD-CORE

Training the Supervisor

When a member of the hard-core joins a company, his supervisor faces a new and unique challenge, for the success of the disadvantaged worker is largely dependent upon how well the supervisory challenge is met. It is the first-line supervisors who work directly with the new hires and the regular workforce and are therefore the crucial link.

To help line supervisors better understand the problems of the hard-core, some companies are trying to "sensitize" their supervisors. However, sensitivity training has been so broadly construed recently that a standard classroom lecture on behavior of young blacks seems to qualify as a sensitivity training session. One such "sensitivity" kit, devised by Human Development Institute, Inc., concerns itself with role playing, in which white supervisors, wearing black masks, try to experience the black man's bitterness, frustration, and anger--feelings that are often intensified when he is thrust into a job situation. The emotional confrontation of role playing is believed to provide the supervisor with a better insight into the attitudes of a black worker. This and other techniques such as wearing prism glasses, taking "trust walks," solving problems quickly without paper or pencil are aimed at helping them understand the psychology of a black worker in an unfamiliar situation. HUI warns that its kit is not a panacea for enlightened supervision but "just an eye-opener, the beginning of the sensitizing process" (Business Week, Aug. 24, 1968).

A program of training and integrating the hard-core into the workforce cannot succeed if supervisors do not have the attitudes, skills, and understanding to handle the special problems of this disadvantaged group. At Lockheed a course dealing with problems of supervising minority disadvantaged workers was developed for supervisors. Their experience had indicated that many members of management and supervision are unable to communicate effectively with the minority disadvantaged worker because they do not understand his culture and his attitudes. Therefore, a course on human relations with minority personnel was developed for presentation to managers and supervisors in areas receiving hard-core employees (Johnson, 1969).

Philco-Ford's sensitivity program is directed toward understanding the problems and needs of the hard-core, encouragement to view the new hires as individuals, and assisting the supervisor in assuming the teaching role. In group discussion sessions, supervisory personnel can receive guidance and orientation from the counselors. With peer-group participation, problems and attitudes can be brought out into the light and constructive solutions sought, which will have direct application. Using serious discussion and role playing, directed by a counselor, the supervisor can learn techniques of instruction, how to direct the new employee, how to assess and evaluate his job performance, and how to encourage and sustain his efforts (Johnson, 1969).

Effective supervisory training should emphasize that the hard-core will involve the supervisors in a "total" relationship, including coming to them for counseling in personal matters and sometimes for small loans. The basic ingredients of the "total" relationship are candor and honesty. However, the supervisor should know that before such a relationship can develop, the hard-core worker will test him repeatedly to discover whether his attitudes are genuine. That is why it is helpful for the supervisor to explore in advance the situations which may confront him in working with the hard-core and to help him develop effective patterns of response.

While learning to question their own conventional attitudes in an attempt to build and maintain a culturally integrated workforce, supervisors are especially perplexed with modifications, needed and acceptable, in the demands of their exacting day-to-day production obligations. Chief among these obligations is maintaining standards, since they are judged on the quality and quantity of their group output. Employee behavior which might jeopardize group performance is of real concern. In these circumstances, it is not enough for upper and middle management to write policy memos merely saying that hard-core people must be hired. Policy statements must be accompanied by some sort of guidance as to just how flexible the supervisors can be with hiring and performance standards. If the supervisor has some say in determining the policy, he will have more confidence in handling group problems that stem from disparity of individual talents (Jensen, 1969).

Any successful effort begins, of course, with a genuine commitment from the top management. Only top management involvement can let it be known that the company has more than an idle interest. If there is any hesitation in the commitment, lower level management give up and accept failure when the program runs into difficulty. Only the efforts of upper management can create a climate for innovation and responsibility that spells out fair play for all concerned and makes the difference between token efforts at employing the hard-core and challenging commitments.

Supervisor's Involvement

One method top management has of maintaining the supervisor's involvement is to give continuing recognition to those who contribute to the development and/or implementation of the plans, thereby reinforcing his behavior. Recognition should be given at the time the action is taken or shortly thereafter. Management should also provide evidence that it understands the problems supervisors face in working with the hard-core workers and that they appreciate the efforts of those who successfully tackle these problems. Furthermore, management must make it clear that it knows these new problems are not necessarily a sign of supervisory failure, that training and coaching will take more of the supervisor's time, and that calculated risks are necessary for the success of any endeavor, especially the hiring of hard-core employees (Jensen, 1969).

Dr. Frank Riessman (1968) believes that training the supervisory staff will have only minor relevance unless it is accompanied with definite incentives for that supervisory staff for successful training and holding of the

hard-core workers. He feels the supervisor will not do his job with the hard-core well just because he understands the background of the individual or because he has obtained appropriate sensitivity or attitude training. In other words, the supervisor must be motivated to want to effectively train and hold the worker; and this motivation is based, in part, upon direct benefits to that supervisor. If he perceives that it is to his benefit, then he will apply the attitude training he is receiving.

Primer for Supervisor

When the new hard-core employees actually report for work, Ford's supervisors are given the following primer: (1) Get ready to instruct. Break down the job and list the important steps, pick out key points. Have everything ready. (2) When he arrives. Introduce yourself and welcome him. Explain what the department does and the rules and regulations pertaining to safety, medical facilities, absence, probationary status and disciplinary actions. (3) Job instruction. Point out opportunities for promotion. Don't forget to offer to answer questions. Instruct clearly, completely and patiently but no more than he can master at one time. (4) On the Job. Let him try out job and correct any errors. Have him explain each key point. Make sure he understands. (5) Designate to whom he goes for help. Check back frequently and encourage questions (Kalb, 1968).

Problems of Hard-core

The problems of attendance and tardiness are usually the first one the supervisor has to deal with in the case of hard-core employees. These problems must be approached with an attitude of helping the worker solve his problem; only a sincere attitude or wanting to help permits the supervisor and the employee to dig out the causes which may be beyond his control. According to the National Alliance of Businessmen's "Guidelines for Introducing the Hard-Core Unemployed to a Productive Job,"

> The hard-core employee, emerging from an environment where there are no fixed routines and exposed to the culture shock (of working for the first time with a majority of white employees) will be ill-disposed toward discipline in the early stages of training.... Existing standards with regard to such items as fighting, theft, or gambling should probably be equitably enforced without separate treatment for the hard core. Such items as tardiness and absenteeism may require modification for the hard core during a longer probationary period (Johnson, 1969).

To thwart any appearance of being an Uncle Tom, the hard-core often demonstrate unusual aggressiveness. Although most workers accept order taking, the hard-core may view it as a sign of inferiority and, therefore, resent being "told what to do" by a supervisor. Many hard-core workers are just not impressed by "authority" or "hierarchy of management," so giving orders in a work situation is somewhat complex when the orders are issued to the hard-core employee newly off the streets. His only real association with authority may have been the police department, or gang

leaders, or a bully; therefore, he either does not understand it, or is unimpressed, or is rebelling against it. Supervisors, however, can try to teach the hard-core worker that there is a procedure for everything they do and explain why the procedure is necessary. Where procedures are not available, the supervisor should attempt to develop one. A constant attempt to impress the hard-core worker that the business world, and especially the production line, is run on procedures lessens the use of authority issue, and results in a smoother work flow.

Each supervisor must give more detailed supervision. In his guiding, leading, counseling, as well as directing, he must continually emphasize communication. The important key is to seek feedback to see if he really understands you (Johnson, 1969).

Approach to Discipline

The supervisor should not fear timely, tactful and positive corrective action. He cannot ignore poor work if he is to improve an employee's performance. The disadvantaged worker must know what is expected of him. However, he may become very upset over a small mistake or incident because he fears, almost expects failure. Therefore, the supervisor should devote more than the ordinary amount of time and energy to reinforcing the ego of the hard-core worker. Through sincere praise, the supervisor can help the disadvantaged worker's self-confidence gain firm footing. Importantly, a supervisor should remember to praise the worker in public and to correct him only in private (McDonald and Hood, 1969).

Firms taking a stronger approach to discipline, immediate discipline, intended to make the hard-core employee feel useful and help them cope with problems as equals to these problems, erasing the "welfare mentality" attitude. Although the hard-core were used to getting slapped for their acts, they had seldom if ever been given the information why they had been slapped. With this stronger attitude, the supervisor expected them to make it on the job; and his expectations helped them feel capable of making it.

Supervisors have found that hard-core workers who show the worst of unacceptable behavior and work habits improved little if any unless reasonably stringent standards were laid down and enforced, and the requirements that they were to adhere to were clearly stated, with termination from the program resulting where responses were negative (Johnson, 1969).

Counseling & Supporting Services

From their first program, International Harvester Co., and many others, learned that a high level of support on and off the job is necessary for a hard-core employee's success. As soon as the hard-core trainee is recruited, counseling and supportive services should be activated. The staff member of IH works hard to convince the new hires that the company is sincere in wanting to help; they give him a call the night before his first day of work and even provide necessary transportation (Business Week, Aug. 31, 1968).

Counseling and coaching attention (follow-up) is given to the new hard-core hires to hold him in the training program and to help insure his success on a new job. Follow-up is of such importance as to involve job developers, placement staff, counselors, and community aides (coaches). During the transitional period, until the new employee is fully self-reliant, supportive services should be readily available. Counseling and supportive services are key elements in the structure of planning that helps the hard-core adjust to the work situation and to regular working schedules.

The ultimate aim of the counselor is to help the individual. Counselors must have an empathetic understanding of the hard-core. He must win the confidence of the hard-core employee and set the tone for the interchange. The basis of confidence is honesty; therefore, above all, counselors must exercise complete candor with the hard-core. The slightest evidence of dishonesty on the part of the counselor will quickly and completely destroy the relationship. The counselor, usually a specialist on the personnel staff, should also be available to counsel the supervisor who works with the hard-core. This additional counseling may range from giving technical advice to helping the supervisor who realizes he is biased about race relations to straighten out his difficulties (Jensen, 1969).

Pairing mature, sympathetic workers with the new hard-core hires on a one-to-one basis, the "buddy system" is perhaps the best known and most widely used method of support. The new employee then has an informal source of information and encouragement. Many hard-core also use their "buddies" for on-the-job help as well as a source of understanding and advice. Here again the key to success is the senior "buddy's" sincere desire to aid the disadvantaged worker to make on the job. The "buddy" can also be an effective liaison between the worker and management, which works out especially well if any problems arise.

Not new to industry but playing a new role, the "job coach" is used as a means of support in many companies. A good job coach not only demonstrates the way a job is done and corrects errors as the new employee is learning, he can also build into the hard-core employee the confidence needed to stay on the job. The successful coach must be a good teacher, have the desire and patience needed to participate in the arrangement, and have the capacity to win the confidence of the hard-core worker. Johnson (1969) believes that most hard-core workers can be helped into the economic mainstream with either the "buddy" system or the job coach approach. He found that work, plus the confidence one gains by actively producing, is beneficial therapy, allowing the hard-core worker to quickly learn to relate in a positive manner to his work and his co-workers.

In addition to these counseling efforts as a part of his working environment, many companies are offering other supportive services to help the hard-core deal with their off-the-job problems. The National Alliance of Businessman emphasizes that "factors which constitute the hard core's existence--poverty, lack of education, insecurity, poor diet, bad housing,

and the like--will make life difficult during his first months on the job. Problems that would appear trifling to most employees may seem insurmountable to the recruits" (Johnson, 1969). They feel necessary supportive services include: medical and dental services, legal aid, day care services, transportation, and personal budgeting and financial services. Financial support should include education in handling wages, use of insurance, income and withholding taxes, employee benefits, banking services, and guidelines on obtaining loans and avoiding unscrupulous credit practices. Other supportive services could include instruction on personal hygiene, proper diet, time clock usage, union-management relations and similar topics (Business Week, Aug. 31, 1968).

Retaining the Hard-core

Which and how many services are actually needed is still being debated among companies. However, there is some consensus that if the company, as represented by the staff and employees with whom the hard-core have contact, feels real concern, that feeling will be communicated. If the climate of the company is essentially warm and accepting and he senses that the company actually means to help him, most hard-core people will be motivated to respond in a positive manner. This is a basic step in effectively retaining the hard-core employee (Johnson, 1969).

However, to hire minority people in entry-level jobs and not at the same time move to upgrade some of them into managerial-level jobs is to miss the main point. What these people want is opportunity, not subsistence. If a company brings these people into the organization at the bottom, they are just whetting their appetites; if the company does not offer opportunity for the minority group to advance upward, they have only succeeded in planting a time bomb. When they finally conclude that opportunities are being arbitrarily denied them, their outrage will be much more discomforting than if it were out in the streets--it will be coming from within the organization (Mayfield, 1970).

Another key to training and promotion lies in the influence of the minority employee's peer group; i.e., his work gang and department. Since employees best learn their jobs from the men around them and they learn the next job above theirs from the men in their department who presently have the job, peer-group influence can hardly be exaggerated. Since the supervisor has to deal with the way other workers view the hard-core, he should pave the way by explaining the company's program to the workers. Reasons why the organization is involved in the program should be explained, and, regardless of his possible reservations, the supervisor should announce full support of the program (McDonald and Hood, 1969). If a prejudiced peer group wants to "cut out" a minority employee, it can undermine both his productive efficiency and his promotability. But a supervisor with empathy and leadership can stimulate his work gangs to aid rather than hinder the minority workers in their midst (Percell, 1968).

To be a successful supervisor in today's world, one must be more sensitive to the problems brought about by the changing work force. The supervisor's goal should be to turn his new subordinates into productive, cooperative members of his department. To do so, he must give them more of his time, understanding and patience. If he is willing to make this effort, he will have a more satisfied and a more productive department.

GROUP STRUCTURE

Introduction

A significant number of the job areas in which the hard-core employee will find himself after completion of a training program are characterized by cohesive group structure and informal group structure. To determine how the hard-core employee will affect the various group structures and how the group structures will affect the hard-core employee it is first necessary to determine the group characteristics.

Cohesive Groups

Cohesive groups tend to:

(1) Be composed of individuals with similar ethnic origins, interests and backgrounds;

(2) Be able to communicate with each other;

(3) Be more cohesive if they are isolated from other groups;

(4) Be small groups;

(5) Herd together under stress;

(6) Form more easily if it is a high status group.

Many of the skilled and semi-skilled trades have cohesive group structures. The steel companies, for example, used to select personnel for job areas on an ethnic basis, i.e., Germans for the machine shop, Italians for the tube mill, and Hungarians for the hot mill (Steel, Mar. 17, 1969). While this is no longer practiced, many of the older members, sons of older members, and members who are now supervisors are products of this system and try to perpetuate it, thus making it difficult for the new hard-core employee.

In a highly cohesive group that has had little exposure to the hard-core (as in many of the skilled trades), the hard-core employee is stereotyped the moment he is identified (Manpower, Monograph No. 9).

Often management feels the best method of assimilating the hard-core into the work group is to alert the group to the fact that the new hire is hard-core. However, he may be stereotyped as lazy, of questionable character or a troublemaker. The work group may be more inclined to reject him than if he were a regular new hire. The implications are that while most companies have some kind of formal training program, once they are sent out on the job there is no follow-up and their chances for advancement depend upon the informal on-the-job training that is administered by the

work group. If you are "in", you are taught the "tricks of the trade", but if you aren't accepted by the group, you just don't get the informal on-the-job training and therefore do not progress (Manpower, Monograph No. 9). There are a number of possible solutions including making supervisors responsible, delegating a member of the group to give O.J.T., establishing a formal training program, or avoiding labeling of "hard-core". The first two require some sort of feedback to ensure instructions are carried out. A formal training program, however, would provide the training required and if made available for everyone would end complaints that the hard-core were "getting more training than we are". There is considerable merit to avoiding the hard-core label as well. Stereotypes will not be formed--the hard-core employee is very sensitive to this label.

Informal Groups

Informal groups tend to be composed of:

(1) People who live near each other;

(2) People exhibiting similar characteristics;

(3) People having common interests and values;

(4) People who you think like you;

(5) People with whom you have work relations.

It is readily apparent that the hard-core employee will not be accepted into the informal group. The only common characteristic the hard-core has with the informal group is a work relationship and he may not even be accepted as a co-worker.

The Hard-Core as an Informal Group

It is interesting to note some of the characteristics of the typical hard-core:

(1) Live near each other;

(2) Tend to have similar cultural background;

(3) Feeling of inferiority and anxiety;

(4) Common interests and values;

(5) Feel that no whites like them.

If you then give a hard-core group a common work relationship, it is not too surprising to find the hard-core forming their own informal groups. For instance, Percell and Webster (1969) noted that the hard-core are always

standing around the cafeteria in a group at lunch time.

The hard-core group would also make a very cohesive group since it satisfies all the requirements except being a high status group.

It may be worthwhile, then, to look at the possibilities of utilizing this tendency to "group" in helping the hard-core adapt to the organization.

In effect, this is what has occurred in those organizations that have set up vestibule training or pre-training for the hard-core. A real rapport has developed among some vestibule groups (Doeringer, 1969). When the training was completed and they were transferred to the main plant (into white work group situations), they experienced an excessive number of gastronomic illnesses (a characteristic of anxiety). As they were accepted by the group, their anxiety decreased (Janger, 1969).

By maintaining the training group after the vestibule training, the anxiety felt by the hard-core employee decreases and his confidence increases in the real job environment. Maintaining the cohesive group also increases productivity and work satisfaction if the group is convinced the company is on its side.

However, Janger noticed in his study that when eight female drop-outs were placed in an existing group under the supervision of a male, any attempt at making "headway" with one girl would cause the group to severely criticize the girl as being "against" them. In this case, the group had concluded the company was not on its side and the only solution for the company was to disperse the drop-outs throughout the organization.

Maintaining the Hard-Core Group Structure

While there appear to be advantages to maintaining hard-core groups in the work situation, there are some serious disadvantages. The labeling or identification of the new hire as hard-core is considered a disadvantage. Maintaining the group would facilitate identification, tend to cause stereotyping and make it more difficult for the hard-core employee to be accepted by other groups. There would be less opportunity for advancement in an all hard-core group. Group composition of this type could bring changes of discrimination, especially if the group were non-white. They would always remain a low status group and might get the feeling after a while that the company is not with them.

The Effect Unions Have on the Hard-Core

Many unions have characteristically been all white work related groups. Through training in the skilled and semi-skilled trades the hard-core are eligible for membership in these unions, and some union members resent this. Percell and Webster (1969) note that there is resentment due to the fact that hard-core get special training which enables them to get union level jobs while the ordinary new hire has to work his way up. Even

in those unions that are not all white, some have discriminated by setting up all black locals. The effect is to limit the black from progressing above the lower paid "black" jobs into the higher pay, higher status "white" jobs. Unions have a strong group structure, and have political implications that will prevent the hard-core from achieving positions of significance in the union hierarchy for some time. The unions are political in that power blocks have been built up over the years and loyalties and commitments developed. The hard-core will find it difficult to progress in this environment and without pressure from the government and the more senior union officials, little will be done. Yet, the hard-core feel they have been promised the best the white man has and they want it now (U. S. News & World Report, Aug. 12, 1968). To them this means the high pay, high status union jobs and a more effective voice in the union. However, some unions that have integrated either have new hard-core, or by integrating the black locals have manipulated things so the blacks have lost all their seniority (Look, Nov. 12, 1968).

In the face of all this, some blacks feel their only hope is to form a separate society, such as the Black Workers Alliance (Steel, Mar. 17, 1969). This approach has several disadvantages. For example, it is doubtful whether the non-integrated unions would honor integrated union pickets and without this type of alliance, the strength of any union is limited. Finally, it has been noted that by following present union integration trends, within five years the blacks will be in a position to bid for real power (Newsweek, June 29, 1970). While legislation to end union segregation must be introduced and enforced and union officials must be made to realize that the hard-core should hold positions of responsibility, it will probably be the great increase in numbers of the hard-core in the unions that will finally result in a more equitable distribution of responsible positions.

Hard-Core Reaction to the Formal Organization

In the formal organization, the white worker accepts the hierarchy of management. The hard-core, however, does not accept it, and resents taking orders. He feels that taking orders is a sign of inferiority and is particularly sensitive to this (Johnson, 1969). This explosive situation is illustrated by the case in which a hard-core worker pulled a knife on his supervisor and cut him up after the supervisor had dressed him down for not doing his work satisfactorily (Newsweek, June 29, 1970). Therefore, some companies are taking efforts to "soften" their hierarchy by establishing a comprehensive set of procedures (Johnson, 1969). Doing the job is then a function of following an impersonal set of procedures.

Internal Resistance Caused by Dual Standards

The most common violation of the white work group norm was that of the double standard. Rosen and Blonsky (1970) noted dissatisfaction on the part of the white worker when he saw the hard-core employee getting away with absenteeism, tardiness and receiving the same pay for inferior work. While most of the studies concluded that the white groups anticipated inferior work on the part of the hard-core, it is interesting to note that

Percell and Webster (1969) found one case where group pressure was applied to get one hard-core employee to slow down "as he was making us look bad" by working too hard.

The focus of the complaints seems to be that the hard-core employee is getting (about) as much money as the regular new hire, but "getting away" with things. Since it is a pay vs. performance conflict, it would seem reasonable to modify the rate structure so it is more dependent on performance. For example, a lower basic wage for all, but higher incentives for amount of work completed. This would have the effect of possibly alleviating this problem.

This would only be feasible in situations where performance could be measured easily and without chance of bias. For example, by paying workers on a piece-work basis, the hard-core worker would not have to make generalizations regarding his performance to his pay--it would be something he could easily see, and might motivate him to be a more consistent, productive worker (Johnson, 1969). Just as important as motivating the hard-core is the fact that the white worker would have no cause for complaint. If the hard-core didn't want to work as hard, or if he took longer to do a job, he would get paid less. There are many situations in which this would not work and there would be problems in the incentive program itself, but it is suggested as an approach that would reduce group tension.

Use of Referent Group as a Means to Assimilate Hard-Core

A high status referent group would be an ideal group to integrate initially. Due to the high status, the other members of the company feel that membership in this group is desirable. If the group accepts the hard-core, the attitudes of the other employees will change to be compatible with the attitudes of the referent group.

DEALING WITH CONFLICT

Internal Conflicts--The Effects

Conflict as related to internal groups can be defined as a state in which groups are being pulled in opposite directions by forces or conditions present in the internal environment. Usually, incompatible goal opportunities or incompatible punishment avoidance opportunities set up conditions that foster conflict. Unfortunately many internal organizational conflicts are of the minus-minus type; that is the choices between two or more alternatives are negative. Action must be taken that will result in minimizing the undesirable results (Costello and Zalkind, 1964).

It should be pointed out, however, that conflict does not always produce undesirable results. Conflict within an organization is an inducement to change. In addition, some of the more desirable results are:

(1) Cohesion due to a slight degree of tension;

(2) A resolution of problems due to desire to relieve tension;

(3) Unification and motivation due to a common threat.

More often, however, interpersonal conflict in organizations produces some undesirable conditions. Reactions that may result from interpersonal conflicts are:

(1) Apathy;

(2) Resistance to conformity;

(3) Hostility or aggressive reactions;

(4) Stress;

(5) Frustration;

(6) General organizational disunity.

The Cause of Conflict

The behavior of members constituting a work force in relation to each other is, at the least, a function of one or more of three sets of forces:

(1) Job responsibilities;

(2) Social backgrounds (including experience and training);

(3) Group memberships and interactions.

Because of the size and complexity of present-day organizations, group differences rather than similarities are highlighted. As a result conflict within the organization is inevitable (Blake and Shepherd, 1964). Naturally conflict can arise between as among individuals or between an individual and a group. The conflict situations for the individual is diagrammatically presented on Exhibit 1 of the Appendix. Although conflicts involving only single individuals can be significant, the discussion of this section shall concentrate on and discuss conflicts among groups. It is assumed that many group problems pertaining to the hard-core work group will also relate to many of the problems faced by each individual group member.

When examining group behavior, three influential characteristics must be considered (Blake and Shepherd, 1964):

Group Structure--A differentiation of individual roles;

Leadership--Crystallization of an internal power structure;

Normal Group Rules (Norms)--Specific conditions of group interactions.

These common properties are the basis for all groups, and all group interactions. Group interaction, as shown on Exhibit 2 of the Appendix, may be between peer groups or between company management. As pointed out earlier in this paper, the values and beliefs of particular groups, their formal and informal structure and internal formation characterize their goals and needs. Now we need to look specifically at the hard-core group.

The Dynamics of Intergroup Conflict

Although the specific characteristics that differentiate groups are varied and many, there appears to be only three basic areas of group interaction in which all the forces can come into play. When groups interact, one of the following three situations must be present:

Situation No. 1 -- A disagreement is inevitable and agreement is impossible;

Situation No. 2 -- A disagreement is not inevitable but an agreement is never possible;

Situation No. 3 -- A disagreement is inevitable but an agreement is possible.

In situation No. 1, we have what is referred to as a "win-lose" orientation to the conflict. Fortunately, the problems associated with employing the hard-core and the resulting conflicts do not usually fall into this category. A few do however, so a glance at the methods of solution are in order.

First and probably least desirable, is the "win-lose"power struggle. Head-on confrontation (usually not physical, however) is usually present and persists until one group wins or loses.

Next is the use of "third party judgment". When the two groups reach an impasse, and it is assumed that no further interaction can produce a change, a third party is brought in to render a decision in favor of one group. Fate, the last alternative, is available if confrontation is too costly and a suitable arbitrator cannot be found.

An illustrative example of this "win-lose" situation relates to the on-the-job behavior of the hard-core .

In one unnamed company studied, absenteeism, and tardiness rate of the hard-core group far exceeded the matched samples of the new employees who met the conventional employment standards. Because company policy, although not stated officially, was understood to suggest to the foreman that they should "take it easy on them (the hard-core) for absenteeism and errors because they were different", this hard-core group was merely cautioned for their errors rather than being penalized, docked or discharged. Unfortunately, the other employees, having to behave under much more rigorous standards, took offense to this discrepancy. As a result the foreman soon noticed tardiness and absenteeism for the regular employees was increasing. This was a serious matter for the first line supervisors, whose work performance was partially evaluated in terms of this factor. As can and sometimes does happen, the foreman was caught in the middle--he could not expect more from the hard-core group and could not punish them nor could he (the foreman) explain to the regular employees the justification for the dual standards. The "win-lose" situation which first confronted the hard-core and regular work groups had been resolved when the regular workers counteracted their "loss" by demanding the same treatment as the other group. The result was that the foreman and the company "lost" as a result of this conflict (Rosen and Blonsky, 1970).

In situation No. 2, we find that conflict is not inevitable but an agreement can never be reached. Again it is fortunate that confrontations between hard-core groups and their peers and managers can almost always be resolved. If this situation exists however, the three possible solutions are:

(1) Withdrawal--the method to avoid confrontation and thus avoid defeat:

(2) Isolation--gains by the group appear more attractive than the rewards to be gained by group interaction and interdependence;

(3) Indifference--In this case groups fail to see the logic or advantage of interacting with other groups and attempting to solve their conflicts.

The approach to a possible conflict that the Allen-Bradley Company of Milwaukee chose to take is an example of the "withdrawal" technique. Although Allen-Bradley was not guilty of discrimination against minorities and hard-core groups, the government recently decided that failure to take affirmative action in hiring minority applicants was a violation of the equal opportunity clause in federal contracts. Allen-Bradley had traditionally filled almost all of its manpower requirements by referral of people by present employees. As a result, blacks and other hard-core minority groups never applied because there was never any advertisement of job openings. The company claimed that few minority workers were hired because few applied. The semi-isolation technique did not work (Business Week, Jan. 1969).

Situation No. 3 is probably the most representative of the problem of conflict due to the interactions of hard-core groups with the more established groups of corporations. True, there is almost surely to be conflict when a group with the background and characteristics of the typical hard-core has interaction with the "blue collar" and educated professional groups. Man being rational however, these conflicts can be resolved. Again there are three basic methods to resolve the conflict:

(1) Peaceful Coexistence--groups emphasize the commonalities and tend to ignore their differences. In a way this is a form of isolation with the exception that the issues of conflict are not significant.

(2) Compromise--a situation where groups are very interdependent and where both groups realize that continuation of their conflict will be far more costly than a partial agreement. Although confrontation is avoided, the problem still remains.

(3) Problem-Solving--the hypothesis of this method is that by rational actions, faith and understanding, both groups can achieve a more advantageous position within the company and not put the other group at a disadvantage. The key to this method of solution is that the problem-solving approach emphasizes "solving the problem" and not enlarging differing points of view (Blake and Mouton, 1964).

A good example of how problem-solving can be applied is illustrated by a recent action of the United Auto Workers, a prominent labor union. This union was very aware of the problems concerning the hard-core group and as a result has suggested a plan that would solve one of their major problems that usually resulted in conflict if left unsolved. The plan, referred to as "inverted seniority" would keep hard-core employees on the job during periods of lay-off while long-term workers volunteered to accept lay-off. The workers would receive 95% of full pay (provided by unemployment compensation and company contributions) for at least a full year. Undoubtedly this plan will meet some opposition (the United Steel Workers have already denounced it), but it is the best approach yet to this problem (Business Week, March, 1969).

Internal Conflict in Perspective

Depending on the exacting type of situation in which conflict is present, we have seen that there are basically six solutions available: Confrontation, arbitration, withdrawal, isolation, compromise and problem-solving. Of these solutions, only confrontation and problem-solving have strong positive correlation with the constructive use of group differences to increase work performance. Because confrontation almost always requires a win-lose condition, of the last two solutions mentioned, problem-solving seems the optimal solution (Burke, Faber and Bresner, 1970).

Obviously it is beyond the control of organizations to have only the type of conflicts that have solutions and will lend themselves to the problem-solving approach. If a case is present where there is conflict and a solution seems impossible, then perhaps intervention by a third party (probably the government in the case of the hard-core) will be the only solution. If an organization faces a situation as described in situation No. 2 -- conflict is not certain but agreement will never be reached, what can be done? First it should be shown that the matter separating the two groups is very trivial. By withdrawing their feelings and emotions, both parties may feel that conflict is no longer worth considering. If withdrawal is taking place by one group, consideration can be given to showing special treatment to this group in areas other than what the conflict concerns.

If the problem-solving technique is to be initiated assuming conditions allow, what factors would be the key to success? The factor that holds the key is emergence of a superordinate goal. Both groups should be made aware that they both have something to gain by their interdependent cooperation. These goals should not merely be "imposed" by a third party--they should emerge from a joint effort of both groups. Sometimes a "common threat" can act as a catalyst for creation of a common goal.

One way to picture the character of solving intergroup conflicts is to specify some of the criteria:

(1) Problem definition;

(2) Review of the full problem;

(3) Develop a range of alternatives;

(4) Debate and discussion of alternatives by both groups;

(5) List all acceptable solutions;

(6) Evaluation of solutions;

(7) Weighing of all alternatives.

The discussion thus far has concentrated heavily on the theoretical concept of conflict. It is interesting and appropriate to examine a few actual cases of conflict concerning the employment of a hard-core group in an organization. The following is not an all-inclusive listing of possible problem areas, but the more significant are mentioned. First the problems that organizations will face are presented.

Preferential treatment in hiring--Undoubtedly it will appear to the regular work force of a company that hiring of unskilled and uneducated minority group workers is showing preferential treatment. Case-in-point: The following quote is an expression of a typical company worker toward hiring of the hard-core--"Well, I went down to employment, I wanted to get an application for my boy, and they tell me they're not hiring. Yet all I see is these hard-cores coming in by the dozens! The company's not hiring? What's the deal! I've been thirty years in this shop. How come I can't get my boy a job?" (Doeringer, 1969).

Dual Standards--If managers and supervisors are taught not to expect much from the hard-core , they won't. Performance standards must be maintained if possible. The regular work force will dislike this unbalanced relationship and the hard-core worker really does not want to be judged this way. Case-in-point: "When a New York City magazine hired its first Negro editorial worker, most of the staff took special pains to see that she was included in lunch groups and everything else. After a few months of this treatment, a fellow worker got into a hot argument with her on editorial policy and profanely disagreed. "You know,' this girl answered with a smile, "You are the only person here who treats me as an equal!'" (Percell, 1968).

High Turnover Rate--As can be expected, the hard-core tend not to stay on one job too long. Although the situation is improving, it proves a serious problem for some organizations. Case-in-point: The Equitable Life Insurance Society has reported that their statistics show a turnover rate for the four hard-core programs they have undertaken of 67%. This is three times the company turnover norm (Doeringer, 1969).

Absenteeism--The hard-core generally have a bad absentee record. Mondays are a particularly bad day in fact, so bad that a phrase has been coined--"mondayitis". Although this is costly to the organization, empathy is due this group because of their concept of what is important and what is not. Case-in-point: When a hard-core Ford employee was asked why he had missed work on Monday, his reply was, "I took the day off,--I wasn't feeling well. What difference does it make? The company didn't have to pay me, so theydidn't lose anything." By his set of values, he had done nothing wrong (Odiorne, 1969).

Job Performance--Unless proper attitudes can be instilled in these workers, job performance can suffer. As a result, production suffers.

Misunderstandings due to ignorance and subcultural involvement--There have been cases where some hard-core employees have made serious mistakes because, it was discovered afterwards, they could not read. In addition, cultural ignorance leaves much room for misunderstandings.

Intolerance by Supervisors--Many supervisors are very used to applying rigid company rules and policies. It is difficult and sometimes impossible for some supervisors to adjust to managing the hard-core .

Training Program--Special training programs are usually required for this group. These are usually lengthy and expensive. Regular employees many times resent these programs.

Corporation Problems with Stockholders--The organization's first goal, traditionally, is to make a profit for the stockholders. Spending large amounts of monies to hire, train, and employ the hard-cores will not meet the approval of all stockholders. Conflict and problems can result from this liberal policy.

There are, of course, many disadvantages the hard-core worker must constantly live with. Many of these problems, although they may not be directly work related, will tend to prepare the work atmosphere for possible conflicts.

Overt racial discrimination and biased feelings--For practical purposes, we can say that almost the entire spectrum of the hard-core are of a minority race, the Negro being by far the greater percentage. Discrimination may be obvious to the minority group members in many ways. An interview conducted at a large unnamed company which was active in hiring the hard-core revealed (Ferman, 1968):

(1) Few whites feel that the Negro has a job problem because of skin color;

(2) Most whites feel the Negroes have the same opportunity for jobs as whites, and cannot understand what the militancy is about;

(3) There is widespread feeling that the hard-core have caused their own problems and should "help themselves" rather than seeking help and charity.

Examples of discriminatory feelings and biased judgment are unlimited and all cannot be discussed. It is safe to conclude, however, that this may be the single largest point of conflict and source of problems.

Unintentional Discrimination and Socialization Problems--Many people have made assumptions concerning the hard-core group which are just not true--that Negroes and Mexican Americans are lazy--that minority workers haven't the mentality to perform other than menial jobs. Although whites may not really dislike the minority worker, they have stereotyped him. The minority worker will also find a bridge to gap in his social relationship with the regular employee. On the job the regular employees may interact with the minority workers, however, there is little assurance and little evidence to support the possibility of social contact off the job (Ferman, 1968).

Union Values--The hard-core face a perplexing problem in both industrial and craft unions. Union philosophy will not allow a compromise with long established sets of values--primarily apprenticeship and seniority. Case-in-point: Prof. Daniel P. Moynihan, Director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies at Harvard and M.I.T., reports that the attitude of union members is forming "a frighteningly conservative pattern." Although it is true that race hatred and race fear are underlying the conservative tide, there is more. This reactionary trend involves class as well as race. For the first time in history the workers have high wages, secure jobs (due to the seniority system) and benefits never before dreamed of. Thus they view those who would come in and "buck the system" (the hard-core) as a real threat (Raskin, 1968).

Many factors not previously mentoned can lead to possible conflicts. A few of these problem areas will be presented in a summary of this topic.

Other Organizational Problems

(1) The Company's responsibility to the hard-core will not end when the five o'clock whistle blows. Keeping the employee out of trouble will be as much of a job for the organization as keeping his production up. It must be remembered that his relationship with society has not been very good; therefore his homelife cannot be completely separated from his job. Many hard-core have a tough time staying out of jail and paying their bills.

(2) When layoffs and promotions occur, management will have a problem justifying their actions, regardless of what the action is, if the hard-core are involved. Lay off the hard-core and they lose faith; lay off members of the regular work force and they will scream.

(3) Transportation of hard-core workers is also a problem the organization will have to consider. Many do not have automobiles.

(4) Subtle hostilities in the work environment--Although the regular work force may overtly not display discrimination, they may withhold information and help needed by the hard-core group.

(5) Company sponsored social activities can present a problem.

What can be concluded about conflict and the hard core? First there will undoubtedly be conflict within an organization if hard-core employees are brought into a work situation where the regular employees are not prepared for this situation. Management has a choice as to the setting it is preparing if conflict is expected. Two opposing forces should never be locked in a win-lose situation with each other. It is management's responsibility to leave an "out" for both groups and simultaneously set the conditions for emergence of some "superordinate goal" that may dissolve polarization and lead to harmony and cooperation.

ORGANIZATIONAL CLIMATE

When considering a program to recruit, train and retain the hard-core unemployed, management must be cognizant of the organizational climate that exists within the company. Each department within the organization should have as an objective the effective utilization of human resources in the firm. If the management of a compnay is genuinely concerned about the development and maintenance of human resources, it must make every possible effort to construct a climate that is conducive toward the fulfillment of this goal. In other words, it must be realized that the organization is an interrelationship among people, and this interrelationship is what makes the company viable. An internally harmonious organization is much more adaptable to internal changes and is much more likely to initiate and develop a successful hard-core program. This section of the paper will be concerned with the elements that make up organizational climate--the bonds of the organization; the formal and informal requirements; and the use of human resources--in an effort to integrate the theoretical and practical problems which occur when disadvantaged or hard-core workers are brought into the company.

Bonds of the Organization

The bonds of an organization can be viewed as the elements which tie the organization together. It is the duty of management to recognize these bonds and attempt to foresee any problems that might arise because of employment of hard-core personnel. One of the most common bonds that exists between employees is the work flow bond. This is the relationship that exists because of the particular product flow within the company, and it is characterized by efficiency of work and efficiency of operation. In short, our industrial system places a premium on efficiency--it seeks to maximize profit and minimize loss--and thus the most efficient worker has characteristically been sought by industry. Ferman (1968) notes that emphasis upon the selection of "best" personnel has given rise to a credentials system within our society. Such credentials include education, skill, stable work history, etc. and people who do not possess them are not given the opportunity to see if they can or cannot do the job.

By allowing this situation to exist, the management of a compnay creates a real problem when it suddenly decides to hire hard-core unemployed. Expectations have been developed by the employees of the company about the type of person who will be hired and brought into their work group. When a hard-core person is hired, these expectations are violated and, usually, hostile reaction toward the hard-core person and toward management occurs. It is evident, then, that proper identification of the work flow bond is important. Management must clearly and effectively communicate its position to employees as well as supervisors in an attempt to soften the impact of hard-core hiring. The company should not be viewed as a rehabilitation agency, but the hard-to-employ worker should be given a chance to improve his work performance over time rather than be judged with success/fail criteria in his initial performance. Situational problems such as conflict

and motivation are discussed elsewhere, but we must note in passing that they can and do arise in situations where a hard-core person is brought into the work group.

Social exchange is another important bond within the organization. Homans (1958) views social exchange as a matter of exchanging behavior and sentiment as well as material and non-material goods. Social exchange can also be viewed as the behavioral act of one person toward another; the latter person responding with a complementary act and attitude. Thus, if a hard-core person is met with hostility when he begins his job, his natural reaction is to be hostile; whereas, if other employees seek his friendship, affection will be evoked. In short, his interpersonal mechanisms tend to "pull" a complementary reflex from others and vice versa. The process is not, in reality, as simple or mechanical as illustrated--there are always forces operating to modify the terms of exchange of behavior and attitudes. But social exchange is an important concept which must be considered (and hopefully methods are derived to resolve unfavorable exchange) when a hard-core hiring program is initiated. For example, Manpower/Automation Research Monograph #9 (1968) reports that more than any other feature of the work situation, the lack of exposure to informal job learning was described with bitterness and frustration by unskilled Negro employees. They saw it as a reflection of interpersonal relations at work. The fact that Negroes were virtually excluded from informal job learning suggests that management must be aware of de facto discrimination. Social exchange (or the lack of it) can completely undermine efforts on the part of management to equalize opportunities.

In addition to the above, an organization also possesses a homeostasis bond. This bond allows the firm to grow or adapt in unison; it is a sense of functional balance. Since an organization is a contrived, symbolic relationship, the roles, norms, and values of the persons who contrived it are expressed by its actions. Homeostasis bonds exist to preserve these concepts in a dynamic state. Thus, the introduction of hard-core people to the organization quite often necessitates a change in values that must be in unison or conflict will result. The social responsibility of business is a key concept which is forcing a change from the old value of "maximum profit and minimum loss". The homeostasis bond will allow the organization to change or adapt toward the solution of the problem of minority employment.

Management must be aware of the changes taking place in society and their impact upon the organization. As noted by Lewis (1969), the vestiges of prejudice and fear that deny individuals from these groups (disadvantaged) equal opportunity to secure and advance in jobs must be reduced and eventually overcome. A unique opportunity exists for business to demonstrate what it can do without the government in the solution of natural problems. Many companies are making a sincere effort to employ and train hard-core, disadvantaged through both public and private commitment but all too often this commitment is shallow. Goodman (1969) points out that the substantial changes in recruitment, selection, training, supervision, policies, and procedures required in undertaking such a program often limit the extent of involvement in a hard-core hiring program by many companies. However, many companies will stand behind their commitments as evidenced by Ford's pledge to employ 5,709 hard-core by June 30, 1969; Humble's hiring of

disadvantaged, etc. The important point to note is that these commitments reflect a change in the values and policies of many companies. In order to grow they realize that they must assume social responsibility, or at least this is their overt manifestation. There is some question as to the motives of industry concerning hard-core programs--in providing these jobs industry may merely be trying to offset a tight labor market--but regardless of motives, hiring the hard-core will cause many adjustments to be made within the company. The remainder of this discussion will center on the formal and informal requirements that will be made on the hard-core and the organization's utilization of human resources.

Formal Requirements

One of the most difficult adjustments that a hard-core person will have to make is to the formal authority and control systems within a company. When hired the hard-core will, in most cases, receive the usual orientation that is given to all employees. It is during this stage of the hiring process that the problems mentioned in the previous section begin to develop and they shall continue to occur throughout the program. Management must realize that the usual or normal rules and procedures will not likely apply to this group. As evidenced by Seligson (1968), given the nature of this group a number of the people in it may very likely be "problem children." They may demonstrate apathy and indifference, poor performance and low productivity, excessive lateness and absenteeism, an inability to follow orders, and poor adjustment to the procedures, rules, customs, and practices of a work place. In order to retain these people the company must do more than just train them to carry out a specific job requirement.

These people must be taught more than just how to run a lathe or some other type of machinery. They must be taught how to cope with the total environment of work. To judge these people by the same formalized standards applied to employees who have been in the work force for many years and retain them as employees would be quite difficult to say the least. For example, consider a hard-core, marginal employee that has just completed company X's training program. The next thing that happens is that he shows up late for work or, more likely, does not even show up at all. The foreman gives him a minor rebuff that most workers would take in stride, but he takes it as a form of hostility which confirms his suspicion that the company is hiring him only to benefit or improve its public image. He then quits.

In order to avoid this type of an error, the company must try to institute a program which will lead to unreserved organizational involvement. Nadler (1970) views this involvement as an educational effort beyond mere communication of company objectives and procedures. Training of employees other than the newly hired becomes necessary, and sensitivity training may even be required sometimes for men in key positions. In addition, the introduction of full-time counselors into the company has been very successful in helping the hard-core adjust to a work environment.

Their purpose is to transform the attitudes of hard-core personnel--characterized by suspicion of the company's motives; isolation from "white" society; lack of concern over what is expected of an employee; and preoccupation with personal problems--into those of a well adjusted, work oriented employee. The extent to which this can be done is a measurement of the success of the program. After all, the goal of a program of this nature is to put the hard-core into jobs where they can be productive, gain self-respect, and have the hope of advancement.

In summary, the formal requirements of hierarchy, control, policies, procedures, and performance standards which management considers essential for organizational effectiveness are detrimental in helping the hard-core adjust to an environment of work. Rules which are normally obeyed have no relevance to the hard-core hire. They are not motivated to perform on the job in the same way as present employees. Before these people can become motivated to fill a job they must develop confidence and/or faith. They need to believe that this opportunity is real and that they can, in fact, become a part of the American society that, until now, has been quite remote to them. For these reasons, the formal requirements of an organization must be lessened or perhaps even dissolved until their attitude toward work is transformed.

Informal Requirements

Most men have a need for affiliation and membership, the desire for a mutual relationship. However, in organizations, there is a natural differentiation of position in the hierarchy. Prestige or status, in this context, is a characteristic that the hard-core find difficult to accept and/or cope with. The set of unwritten rules which define the type of conduct that people are expected to portray, i.e., degree of respect or disrespect, familiarity or unfamiliarity, etc. is completely alien to this group, and these concepts are often interpreted by the hard-core to be overt manifestations of hostility. Due to the low status positions that our society has normally assigned to these people, this interpretation is justified. But, more importantly, the informal social structure that surrounds this formal hierarchy can cause greater problems than the formal structure.

One of the goals of a training program should be to provide hard-core people with a foundation to cope with informal social structure. Employers must realize that the more closely an instructional program simulates the actual job conditions, the more easily the hard-core trainee will be assimilated into the organization. The hard-core hire should be made aware of the informal social structure which exists and how he is likely to fit into it. For example, he must be made to realize that coworkers can help or hinder him in his job performance. Informal on-the-job learning can be sabotaged by the informal social structure. Our purpose is not to discuss the intricacies of informal groups and interaction patterns, it is merely to note that certain informal requirements do exist within the company, and the more effective we are in communicating this structure to the

hard-core hire, then the more likely we are to be successful in assimilating him into our organization. Social aspects of the job may be particularly important to the hard-core because they have been accustomed to look for their satisfactions more in human relations than in occupational success. Rosen (1970) notes that friendly, congenial relations with coworkers seemed to be essential for the hard-core hire to achieve job satisfaction. Intrinsic interest in their work ranked very high in the motivational structure of hard-core employees.

Use of Human Resources

In attempts to explain the hard-core unemployed, considerable emphasis is placed on the lack of skill, education, and motivation of these individuals, but little has been said about the lack of appeal or attractiveness of the dead-end jobs to which they have previously been assigned. Perhaps one of the reasons that the hard-core has a "disinterest" in work is that they can see little or no opportunity to get ahead. Employers must realize that these people need to experience success and that good work performance can lead to better jobs, higher pay, and greater security. Johnson (1969) points out that for employees with drive and ability, dead-end jobs engender only frustration and despair and result in high absenteeism, turnover, and lateness.

To effectively utilize the human resources and manpower that is available, it must be realized that extensive job development for the workers may become necessary both before and after employment. Some attention may have to be given to the problem of transportation--getting the disadvantaged to and from work. Transportation is often a key to lateness and absenteeism, especially for workers who live in the ghetto far removed from the areas of industrial activity. Medical problems will also require some attention if the worker is to meet company health standards. Assistance in home budgeting or financial skills may be needed to stabilize the worker's new job situation. Thus, it is essential for the employer to provide assistance for the full range of personal services that these people might need. Although these services are not job related, they are critical because personal problems can often destroy a recruit before he begins on the job.

In conclusion, it should be noted that the degree of commitment by an employer is positively associated with success. The amount of energy and resources committed to the program will increase with each success. If the people in the company with whom the hard-core have contact feel real concern, that concern will be communicated and the hard-core hire will begin to sense that the company actually means to help him. If the climate of the organization is essentially warm and receptive, most hard-core will respond in a positive manner and any problems that are encountered can be solved without much difficulty.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the future inroads must be made into the "white collar" job market. A 1966 study of 100 New York based companies showed only 2.6% Negroes in headquarters staff (Haynes 1968). Although this doesn't relate directly to the hard-core, the relationship of the hard-core and equal employment opportunity are tied together. The hard-core have "no place to go" (upward mobility) if equal opportunity is not earnestly practiced. "Tokenism" and "window dressing" will be resented by the hard-core group because of this intracompany link.

The shallowness of company commitments to the hard-core group will probably be exposed during times of economic weakness. Granted, if corporations cannot generate a profit, its position will deteriorate and hiring the hard-core will be impossible. In this case, help from the government may be necessary. However, economic slowdowns should not be a convenient excuse for not hiring the hard-core or even laying off many from this group.

Our purpose in writing this paper has been to evaluate the effects of hiring hard-core unemployed on internal organizational areas. In order to make such an evaluation, we have attempted to integrate the theoretical concepts of internal organization into the practical problems which occur when a hard-core hiring program is instituted. Leadership style and the ability to influence a hard-core person is one of the most prevalent problems that a company must overcome in order to achieve a successful program. Some of the methods which we suggest include effective training for first line supervisors, abolition of an authoritarian system, and "human relations" type management. Management must also be well trained in dealing with groups and must be cognizant of the types of conflict which are likely to occur (among both--groups and individuals) when a hard-core program is introduced. Some of the methods suggested to deal with conflict include the use of vestibule groups as a training device, use of counselors to establish proper rapport with hard-core trainees, and application of the problem-solving technique as a tool to resolve conflict. In order to implement this technique, management must have a thorough understanding of group behavior and the interaction patterns that are likely to occur within hard-core groups, present employee groups, and between these groups. Finally, proper assessment of the organizational climate must be made. A harmonious, congenial climate is necessary to assure assimilation of the hard-core into the organization. The goal of this program is to put the hard-core into jobs where they can be productive, gain self-respect, and have the hope of advancement. In the final analysis, these are the criteria against which the success of the program must be measured.

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APPENDIX

EXHIBIT 1

THE INDIVIDUAL AND CONFLICT

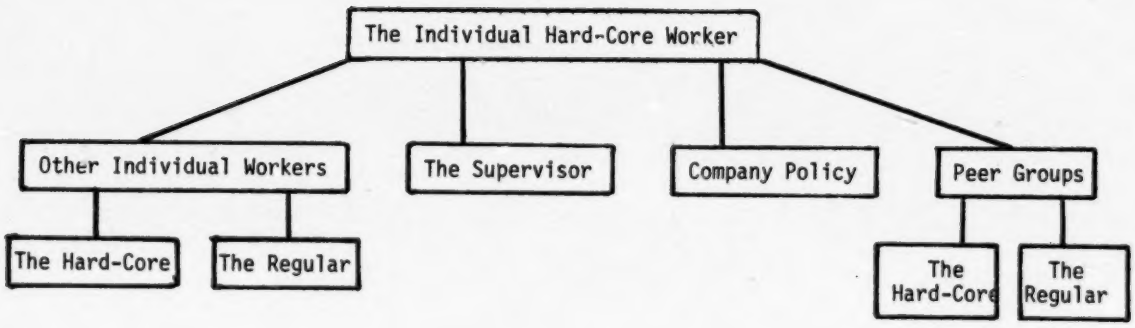

EXHIBIT 2

THE HARD-CORE GROUP AND CONFLICT